

THE
BLAST OF A TRUMPET
IN ZION,

CALLING UPON

EVERY SON AND DAUGHTER OF WESLEY,
IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
TO AID THEIR BRETHREN IN AMERICA

IN PURIFYING THEIR

AMERICAN ZION FROM SLAVERY.

BY WILLIAM H. PULLEN.

"Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, and sound an alarm in my holy mountain."—JOEL ii. 1.

"Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins."—ISAIAH lviii. 1.

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THE CLOGHER ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION,
THE FINTONA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AND MANY OTHERS.

PREFACE.

As no greater disgrace attaches to the Christian name than the practice of professing Christians making merchandise of their fellow-creatures, which prevails in the United States, one of the best means of promoting the progress of vital Christianity is to do all in our power to discountenance American Slavery.

As it can be shown that the professors of Wesleyan Methodism in the Great Republic are deeply implicated in this guilt, we feel assured that their brethren in Great Britain will feel a necessity laid upon them, to use their utmost efforts, in order that their highest idea of Christianity shall be freed from this fearful stain.

Surely nothing can raise a greater abhorrence of the Slave system than the fact, that through the love of wealth and the lust of power, the churches which regard Wesley, Coke, and Asbury as their founders, are disgraced and degraded by its pollutions; and that the connection with Slavery of this and other religious organizations in America, constitutes its strongest support, contributing more than anything else to bring the profession of Christianity into disrepute, and tending to the spread of infidelity and disbelief on every hand.

Let Americans who visit this country professing the doctrines of Wesley no longer be received as such, unless they are able to show that they do not belong to the pro-slavery portion of the church. And let not Methodist organizations in the United States be valued according to the extent of their conferences, or the numbers, wealth, and station of their members, but for the Christian purity of their lives, and the fidelity of their adherence to the doctrines and practice of John Wesley.

Never was it more essential for every follower of Wesley to bear a faithful testimony against this crying evil. Great is their responsibility, and timid and compromising conduct in this respect, safe as it may seem at present, will tend more than anything else to lessen the moral weight of their denomination.

Having said thus much, the attention of British Methodists is earnestly invited to the following pages, with an assurance that they have it in their power to raise such a protest against American Slavery, that not only their own body but the whole nation shall be forced to join in an indignant outcry against that infamous institution, which was so truly and so pithily designated by their venerable founder, "*the sum of all villainies!*"

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THE BLAST OF A TRUMPET.

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JOEL ii. 1.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE progressive course of God's Church has in all ages presented a varied aspect. Sometimes she appears like the sun in his meridian glory—bathed in refulgent brightness, and clear as the noonday. At other times she is like that same sun, when some dark cloud obscures its brightness, covering its radiant disc with gloom and blackness. The early days of Zion's history were fraught with sad defections from the truths and principles inculcated by God himself. It was when thus wandering from the paths of uprightness the finger of God was most clearly discernible, warning, reproof, chastening, and constraining, and thus drawing his people nearer to himself. However far they had strayed from virtue and holiness, God never left himself without a witness. When to the disconsolate heart of Elijah all Israel appeared to have forsaken the God of their fathers, and followed after idols, there came this gladsome assurance to the wearied prophet, “Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him.”

The history of the early Church was but a prototype of our experience in these latter days; for it may be said in our own days that within the Church of Christ there lurks a hidden enemy—an evil which, like a gnaw-worm, is eating up the very vitals of our Christianity, and which, if persisted in, will ultimately bring

discomfiture and disgrace upon the religion of Jesus. This evil is *American Slavery*—a system of iniquity horrid in its practice, and sinful in its principles.

None, for a moment, who have experienced the blessings of freedom, will justify the enslaving of a fellow-creature, compelling him unwillingly to participate in a system ruinous alike to the best interests of soul and body. None possessing the Spirit of Christ, and walking in the footsteps of Him who came to “proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison door to them that are bound,” would for a moment countenance a system which binds 4,000,000 captives—trampling on their rights and liberties, shutting them up in the prison-house of ignorance, and depriving them of the free exercise of those mental capabilities and endowments which God has implanted in every man. Yet, strange to say, there are multitudes of professing Christians in the United States of America who hold property in man, degrade him to the level of the brute creation, treat him as chattel-property, and even defy the laws of Heaven in prosecuting their evil machinations. In the Slave States, ministers of the gospel are guilty of slaveholding, and unblushingly stand up and advocate in their pulpits this most inhuman traffic. Bishops, deacons, stewards, class-leaders, and members, are alike implicated in supporting this system. They meet in solemn conclave, asking God to sanctify their deliberations, while, at the same time, they rivet the fetters of the slave. It is true the finger of devotion is pointed heavenwards, and the voice of prayer and praise is heard repeatedly in their midst; but what shall we say when it is made known that those who profess to “live godly in Christ Jesus,” are the means of ignoring the manhood of those to whom God has imparted it, and have unblushingly laid aside God’s laws, that they might institute a discipline of their own, which shall sanction their prosecuting a nefarious traffic unworthy of the name of man, and blasting to the reputation of pure and undefiled religion?

Do not facts bear us out in these assertions? Here are a few of the laws laid down by different assemblies. We select them promiscuously, as illustrative of many:—

“That slavery is consistent with the most fraternal regard for the good of the slave.”—*Charleston Union Presbytery, S.C.*

“That masters ought not to be disciplined for selling slaves without their consent.”—*New School Presbyterian Church, Petersburg, Virginia.*

"That the fact of slavery is not a question of morals at all, but is purely one of political economy."—*Charleston Baptist Association*.

"That the right of the masters to dispose of the time of their slaves has been distinctly recognized by the Creator of all things."—*Ibid*.

"That slavery as it exists in the United States is not a moral evil."—*Georgia Methodist Conference*.

"That the separation of slaves by sale shall be regarded as separation by death, and the parties permitted to marry again."—*Shiloh Baptist Association, and Savannah River Association*.

"That the testimony of coloured members of the churches shall not be taken against a white man."—*Methodist Church*.

Now be it remembered that these laws, and others of even a viler nature, are being enacted this day in the midst of the American republic. Slavery has been under the droppings of the sanctuary for more than two hundred years, and yet at this moment there are more slaves and slaveholders in the Church of Christ than at any previous period. Not only does slavery exist and flourish beneath the shadow of God's altars in the Southern States, but it also finds a refuge and protection in Northern pulpits and in Northern churches. Small, indeed, is the number of holy men in various sections of the Christian Church, even in the Free States, whose hands are free from this vile pollution. Northern churches have fellowship and communion with slaveholders, as we can fully show. Northern ministers are silent upon the subject of slavery—even the offering up of a prayer for the slave in a Northern pulpit is calculated to give offence unto many. They have no sympathy for the oppressed. Theirs is not the mission of their Master, who came to "undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free." They are of the company who "bind heavy burdens upon men's shoulders, grievous to be borne, but themselves will not touch them with their least finger." They will preach down sins which spring from this system—adultery, vice, lying, stealing, and murder—but they dare not, *dare not* speak a word against a system which concentrates and combines every species of wickedness.

To such an extent does this pro-slavery element permeate the Church, that for a minister to preach against slavery would generally be to alienate those who support him by their wealth and influence, and whose tender consciences are sensitive to the slightest allusion to their ill-gotten gains. Are we not right? Does not the experience

of Dr. Cheever and others support and verify our statements? Members of churches in the Free States are known to have plantations in the South, and possess human chattels to work those plantations. Well may scoffers sneer, scorners ridicule, infidels point the finger, and the world look with contempt upon the woman-whipping and man-stealing religion which exists in the United States of America.

But we must draw our introductory remarks to a close, and refer to the special object we have here in view. Amongst the various denominations of Christians which thus support American slavery, Wesleyan Methodism holds a conspicuous position—the more conspicuous now because of the efforts which have been made to purify this Church from the sin of slaveholding. We will not speak of the Southern Methodist Church, as that is universally known to be a slaveholding community. We speak of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *North*, which Bishop Simpson and Dr. McClinton stated, before the English Conference of 1857, to be free from the stain of slavery, but which we are prepared to show has at this moment some 15,000 slaveholders in its communion, holding about 100,000 slaves. Our object is not to make any man a liar, but to elicit the truth; and we therefore earnestly solicit an honest, candid, and impartial hearing from every Wesleyan in this country.

There is at present a movement in this very church for the purpose of purifying themselves from the taint of slaveholding. The subject has long been agitated. Earnest souls, upon whom the mantle of Wesley has fallen, have inherited his ardent zeal, and have been faithfully striving to vindicate the honour and maintain the integrity of American Methodism. In the General Conference, May 1860, the great battle must be fought. Then must it be determined whether Methodism shall remain sullied with impurity or be purified from sin. To aid those who are labouring for the honour of God, for the spread of pure and undefiled religion, for the good of the slave, and the purification of American Methodism, is our end and aim. If we succeed in rousing the interest of Wesleyans in this country, and lead them to take sides with justice, mercy, and truth in this great conflict, our object will be attained, and we give God the glory.

In conclusion, we would inform the reader that a book has been recently published by Messrs. Mason Brothers, New York, written by the Rev. Henry Mattison, of the Black River Conference, an

elder much beloved and respected, entitled the *Impending Crisis of* 1860, to which we are indebted for much of our information, and to which we would refer the reader for a further elucidation of this subject.

We commend these pages to the prayerful consideration of every disciple of Christ who bears the name of Wesley, hoping that by the grace of God they may be inspired to "come to the help of the Lord, the help of the Lord against the mighty."

CHAPTER II.

BRIEF HISTORY OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

In this chapter we propose to trace briefly the origin and progress of Slavery in the American Methodist Church from the commencement of its social organization.

In the year 1739, Methodism in America had assumed a social form. During the whole of the first forty-five years of its existence it was intensely opposed to slavery, both in principle and in practice. Its earliest founders were to a man Abolitionists in the strictest sense of the word. Nothing could exceed their testimony against this great and crying evil.

Wesley opposed it with all his mind and strength. In 1743 he wrote the General Rules of the United Society, and had these been strictly adhered to, slavery could never have found shelter or protection beneath its fostering care. In 1774 he first published his *Thoughts on Slavery*, a treatise which, for its withering declamations against man-stealers and slaveholders, and for its earnest exhortations, will bear comparison with any Abolition pamphlet which has issued from the press. He was a great sympathizer with the movement carried on in England for the extirpation of slavery in our West India colonies; and even four days before his death, his cheer-

ing words to English and American Abolitionists bear testimony to his zeal.

Richard Watson, the eminent theologian, was also an earnest Abolitionist. In his *Theological Institutes*, a text-book in which every Wesleyan minister is examined before his admission into Conference, he shows slavery to be utterly irreconcilable with Christianity.

Dr. Adam Clarke, the great commentator, was an ardent Abolitionist. Ye who denounce modern Abolitionists as infidels and fanatics, whose rabid insolence ye cannot endure—say, was ever firmer testimony borne against slavery than that of *Dr. Adam Clarke*? Here is his comment upon *Isaiah lviii. 6.*:—

“How can any nation pretend to fast, or worship God at all, or dare to profess that they believe in such a being, while they carry on the *slave-trade*, and traffic in the souls and bodies of men! Oh! you most flagitious of knaves and worst of hypocrites, cast off at once the mask of religion, and deepen not your endless perdition by professing the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, while ye continue in this traffic.”

What shall we say of the *Rev. Joseph Bradburn*, one of the earliest of American Wesleyan preachers, and who was a notorious Abolitionist; of *Dr. Thomas Coke*, the first bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose life was endangered because of his sympathy and labours for the suffering bondsman? What shall we say of *Francis Asbury*, second bishop of this church, who laboured in season and out of season against slaveholding; of *Freeborn Garretson*, himself once a slaveholder, but who, from conscientious scruples, became a practical Abolitionist, emancipating his own slaves, and calling upon others to do the same? Time and space forbid the mention of others equally earnest and zealous in this cause; men who, if they lived in our day, would be denied the use of Methodist pulpits, and be denounced by modern Methodists as fanatics and infidels. The early founders of the American Methodist Episcopal Church were to a man Abolitionists, as the resolutions passed continually in various conferences abundantly testify.

Up to the year 1784, the rule repeatedly laid down by successive Conferences for the extirpation of slavery was virtually this:—

“That no slaveholder shall be admitted into this Society, or to the Lord’s

Supper, until he has complied with the rules laid down for securing the emancipation of his slaves; and that no member of this Society shall be permitted to buy or sell slaves, under penalty of being expelled from the Society."

Let not the reader fail to remember that this extirpatory law was enacted at the very foundation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and incorporated into the first Methodist Discipline ever published in America.

By what means, then, has slavery become so powerful in the Church? We answer, in like manner as it has become powerful in other social spheres. It has grown up and flourished in open defiance of law and principle, and there have not been found wanting those who share in this iniquity even in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Such, however, was the testimony of the early Methodist Church against American slavery. For five and forty years her sun had shone full-orbed and bright, "growing brighter and brighter unto the perfect day." In 1784 she had attained her meridian brightness. In England 800,000 slaves received the boon of freedom at her hands, and thousands of emancipated bondsmen in America rejoiced in the liberty bestowed by Wesleyan Methodism. But now dark clouds loom in the distance, and begin their onward march, shrouding her brightness and marring her majestic beauty. From 1739 to 1784 were the purest days she ever saw. Let us hope and pray that her glory may speedily be restored, and her beauty vivified; that Zion may rouse herself from the dust, and again clothe herself in those garments of purity and of holiness which in days gone by constituted the bulwark of her greatness and the majesty of her power.

Scarcely had this point of greatness been attained, when the slave power began to stir itself in the Church. At a Conference held in Virginia, in April, 1785, many of the principal friends of Methodism assembled for the purpose of urging upon the Conference the suspending of the operation of the rule against slavery. This aggression was boldly met by Dr. Coke and his friends (see *Life of Coke*, pp. 135 and 136), and the pro-slavery party, experiencing their defeat, withdrew their opposition, and submitted to the Conference. The noble stand made by Dr. Coke was, *A whole gospel or none*, and the yielding of the slave power is worthy of remark. Had the same standard been strictly adhered to, we should not this day have to lament over the fall of Zion. On the 2d of June following, only two months having elapsed, another conference met in Baltimore.

The slave power doubtless had rallied its forces, and the following was inserted in the Discipline:—

“It is recommended to all our brethren to suspend the execution of the minute on slavery *till the deliberations of a future Conference*; and that an equal space of time be allowed all our members for consideration when the minute shall be put in force.

“N.B.—We do hold in the deepest abhorrence the practice of slavery; and shall not cease to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means.”

Here is not only an expression of abhorrence of slavery, but also a determination to put the minute in force *at some future day*. But it was a yielding of the Conference and a victory for slavery; for, alas! the day of redemption never came—the Rules were never again restored, but were soon left out of the Discipline altogether.

In 1792 the language of the General Rules against slavery was materially modified. Instead of forbidding “the buying or selling the bodies and souls of men,” it was made to read “the buying or selling of men;” not the “bodies and souls,” &c.; thus diminishing the hideous character which the original rule was intended to imply.

In 1796 the anti-slavery spirit was again set in motion, and the result of its agitation was the adoption of a new rule, which embodied the following sentiments:—

“1. That no person holding slaves shall be admitted to official positions in the Church, without the execution of a deed of manumission, by which his slaves shall be emancipated.

“2. That no slaveholder shall be admitted into the Society till the preacher who has the oversight of the circuit has spoken to him freely and faithfully upon the subject of slavery.

“3. Every member who shall sell a slave shall be excluded from the Society; and any member purchasing slaves, shall be required to execute a deed of manumission, by which liberty may accrue to them and their offspring.

“4. All preachers and other members of this Society are requested to consider the subject of negro slavery, that the Yearly Conference may be guided by their judgment in its efforts to eradicate this enormous evil.”

The opening words of this new rule declare that they were “more than ever convinced of the crying evil of American slavery.” For a time the new rule was vigorously enforced, and doubtless hundreds of emancipated bondsmen owed their freedom to its practical operation. We have before us cases which were subservient to this rule, extending to the year 1816. Few cases, however, occur after 1810, from which it appears that after a long struggle

(from the fatal compromise of 1784 to 1810) slavery at last triumphed, and the voice of the Conference was hushed against the sin for ever. There were in the Church those who had made great sacrifices, "that they might obtain a standing in the Methodist Episcopal Church, but they had lived to see that very church vitiated and overrun with slavery and oppression of their brethren." In 1800 the following new paragraph was added to the Rules of 1796:—

"When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, *by any means*, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our Church, unless he executes, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives."

In 1804 the rules against slavery adopted in 1796 were materially toned down, to meet the advancement which the slave interest was making in the Church. For "the crying evil of American slavery," we have "the evil," &c., as if it was not a "*crying*" evil; for "more than ever convinced," they substituted "as much as ever convinced;" and instead of "slavery which exists in the United States," we have merely the word "slavery." The societies in North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee were excepted from the operation of the rule against slavery, and the following was inserted in the Discipline:—

"Let our preachers, from time to time as occasion may serve, admonish and exhort all slaves to render due respect and obedience to the commands and interests of their respective masters."

They had now ceased to testify to masters the sinfulness of slaveholding, and had become instructors of the slaves to become submissive to their masters! What a lamentable fall from virtue!

In 1808 the General Conference struck out from the General Rules all that related to slaveholding amongst private members (sec. 2 and 3 of 1796), and the following was substituted:—

"The General Conference authorizes each Annual Conference to form their own regulations relative to buying and selling slaves."

What a rapid stride downwards was here. This was, indeed, the opening of the floodgates by which they are being overwhelmed in sin.

This year the General Rule against slavery was again tampered with, not by the Conference, but by some unknown hand.

Instead of "the buying or selling," it was made to read "the buying *and* selling," and so putting "and" in the place of "or" all the way through; so that a person must buy and sell two men, two women, and two children in order to violate the rule!

The floodgates being opened, the tide swept through with resistless fury—the old landmarks set up by Wesley, and Coke, and Asbury, were borne away by the torrent. Methodism had made her peace with iniquity. Her ministers were dumb before it. She gathered into her bosom thousands of men who were guilty of this most "execrable villainy;" and "American Slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun," had fairly joined hands and become partner with American Methodism. Could the spirits of the departed Wesley and his colleagues have viewed this sad defection, how would their souls be stirred within them at the sight!

But we have not yet fathomed the depth of pollution in which American Methodism is foundering. There are yet greater depths. Not long previous to the General Conference of 1840, the Rev. S. Comfort, of Missouri, was charged with maladministration for allowing a coloured person to give evidence in a church trial. When his appeal came up, the following resolution was proposed by Ignatius A. Few, and seconded by Dr. George Peck, and adopted by the Conference by a majority of 28—the votes being—

For the resolution,	74
Against,	46
Majority in favour of,	28

"Resolved, That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher among us to permit coloured persons to give testimony against white persons, in any State where they are denied that privilege in trials at law."—(*Journal*, vol. ii. p. 60.)

The next step downwards was to allow local preachers to become slaveholders. Previous to this period no official in the Church was permitted to hold slaves. But concession must follow compromise; and having thus far yielded to the influence of slavery, we are not surprised to learn that every barrier is broken down. This happened in 1840, when the Conference of that year virtually determined that slaveholding should be no bar to the ministry. It is not strange, therefore, that in 1844 (only fifteen years ago), the Rev. James O. Andrews, one of their bishops, was found to be a slaveholder. This brought the General Conference to a dead stand.

Already a spirit of disaffection had manifested itself in their midst. They must therefore do *something* with Bishop Andrews, or openly tolerate slaveholding in the highest dignitaries of the Church. The bishops united in an address to the Conference, "recommending the postponement of further action in the case of Bishop Andrews until the ensuing General Conference." But the Conference determined, there and then, to bring the matter to an issue. The charge was fully investigated, and finally the following was adopted, by a vote of 110 to 68.

"Whereas the Discipline of our Church forbids the doing anything calculated to destroy our itinerant general superintendency; and whereas Bishop Andrews has become connected with slavery, by marriage and otherwise, and the act having drawn after it circumstances which, in the estimation of the General Conference, will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant general superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it; therefore,—

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of his office so long as this impediment remains."—(*Journal* for 1844, pp. 65, 66.)

No complaint is here made on moral grounds; he was only asked to suspend his labours because he would not be well received by the Northern States. Slaveholding in the Episcopacy is not censured, and the slaveholding bishop is a bishop still, with his name in the Discipline and Hymn-book, and drawing his salary the same as other bishops. A secession ensued. The Southern delegates, finding they were unable to gain their points by establishing slaveholding in the Episcopacy, got a plan of separation adopted, and seceded, taking the whole of the membership of the Slave States with them. In due time they sued the book agents, and by the decision of pro-slavery judges, obtained a portion of the Church property. They form the Methodist Episcopal Church, *South*, and to-day are breeding, selling, buying, working, and whipping negroes to their hearts' content, and sanctifying their "execrable villainy" by assuming the garb of Christianity.

Now, in 1857, Bishop Simpson and Dr. M'Clintock, in their defence of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *North*, pointed to this secession of 1844 as an irrefutable argument of their anti-slavery character. But facts prove to us that if they could have avoided that secession they would. It was nothing less than a matter of expediency in forbidding Bishop Andrews the exercise of his bishopric. It was not they who withdrew from slavery. For a

period of sixty years they had gradually become insensible to the principles and practices of their early founders. They had compromised with the slave interest, and because they would not submit quietly to its further usurpations, that powerful oligarchy withdrew its patronage and support. Where is there a single principle in which the justice of slaveholding is questioned, even in that resolution arrived at in the case of Bishop Andrews? We are prepared to show that, even after this secession had taken place, the principles of the Methodist Episcopal Church are the same as they were previous to that disruption—that not only do its members, but even its ministers, hold slaves for purposes of gain.

We have glanced over the history of this church from its early commencement. We have seen how staunch were its founders in opposition to slavery from 1739 to 1784. We have seen how it pandered to sin, and made peace with slavery for sixty years. And what is the result of it all? Heaven is insulted—God's laws are defied—religion is spurned—Christianity is ignored—and souls are damned! Who can gaze upon this strange apostasy without exclaiming, "Surely judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off: for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter. Yea, truth faileth; and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey" (Isaiah lix. 14, 15).

CHAPTER III.

THE PRESENT CONNECTION OF THE AMERICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, NORTH, WITH SLAVERY.—SLAVEHOLDERS IN THE PRIVATE MEMBERSHIP.

IN this chapter we shall proceed to show that from 10,000 to 20,000 slaveholders are now amongst the private members of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and in speaking of this church in future, we wish it to be distinctly understood that we mean the *Methodist Episcopal Church, North*, or in other words, that portion

of the original Methodist Episcopal Church which, it is said, after the division of 1844 assumed "a decidedly anti-slavery aspect."

This church, according to the General Minutes of 1858, consists of 47 Annual Conferences, 6502 travelling preachers, 7530 local preachers, and 956,555 members and probationers. Of these about 600 travelling preachers, 800 local preachers, and 100,000 members are in slave territory; for although this church is called the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, *it extends into the slave territory of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas.* It is in these States that the leaven of slavery exists and flourishes, and is the means of corrupting the whole Church. When the Southern Churches seceded in 1844, most of the preachers and members in these states still adhered to the North, among whom were thousands of slaveholding members, and not a few slaveholding local preachers. The extent of slave territory covered by this church, may be seen from the following table:—

	Sq. Miles.
Delaware,	2,120
Maryland,	11,124
Virginia,	61,352
District of Columbia,	60
Kentucky,	37,680
Missouri,	67,330
Arkansas,	52,198
Total,	231,914

In this territory there are 3,237,458 whites, 914,376 slaves, 136,958 slaveholders, and about 100,580 Methodists. The proportion of white males over twenty years of age is about one-fifth; so that the proportion of 3,237,458 who are over twenty-one years of age, and therefore *capable* of holding slaves, cannot exceed 650,000. Among these there are 136,958 slaveholders, or about one in every five. If, then, the 50,000 male Methodists in this territory hold slaves in the same proportion as do others, there are at least 10,000 slaveholders amongst these 100,580 Methodists. But when we remember that throughout the Slave States, as a general rule, the wealthy class own all the slaves, and that the Methodists of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, are the wealthiest class in the community, we consider even the estimate we have already formed far below the real facts of the case.

Here is a fact. In 1852 or 1853, a slave escaped from his Me-

thodist master, and fled into Pennsylvania. The master pursued him. The slave resisted, and the master, whose name was Gorsuch, was shot and killed. Not long after an obituary of the Methodist slave-hunter appeared in the columns of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, the official organ of the Church, expressing much sympathy for the "unfortunate," but not a word against the infamous affair in which he lost his life.

Dr. J. T. Cooper, of the Philadelphia Conference, and an opponent to the Abolition cause, says that to such an extent is the Church in Maryland overwhelmed with slaveholders, that they cannot find sufficient non-slaveholding members to man their official boards. Now there are some 100,000 members in this region, say 50,000 male members. Ten officers to every hundred members is a large officary, which would require only 5000 to fill the offices; and yet these cannot be found. Surely, if this assertion of Dr. Cooper's be true, then must we inevitably arrive at the conclusion that instead of 10,000 there must be at least 30,000 slaveholding Methodists in Virginia and Maryland alone!

Here is the testimony of the Rev. J. D. Long, a man loved and respected, whose truthfulness and honesty not even his bitterest opponent can question. In his *Pictures of Slavery in the Church and State*, he says:—

"According to the minutes of the Conference,* 1856, there were upwards of 15,000 white members and probationers in the slave portion of the Conference. Of this number there are at least 1000 mercenary slaveholders; these 1000 slaveholders own at least 3000 slaves. Numbers own from five to ten. I know one individual who owns twenty. Intelligent laymen in that section of the country will not think this a large estimate, but within the bounds of truth.

"I cannot speak for the Baltimore Conference, though it is certain that it has a vastly larger slaveholding territory than the Philadelphia Conference. If that Conference has jurisdiction over 1000 mercenary slaveholders, and these own 3000 slaves, then we have 6000 slaves owned by 2000 members of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

In this estimate Mr. Long does not pretend to include all who hold slaves; for he says—

"By actual slaveholders I mean those who hold them for *gain*, just as the irreligious do, without any reference to brethren who have manumitted their slaves to be free at twenty-five, thirty, or thirty-five years."

* Philadelphia Conference, which takes in but a small portion of the slave territory.

Again—

“At one small country appointment,” says Brother Long, “in the fall of 1855 and winter of 1856, I knew two members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who died and left twenty-five to thirty slaves in bondage for life.”—(*Pictures of Slavery*, p. 34).

In another place he says—

“Within the last seven years, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of the highest standing, made a will, by which he left his slaves to be sold at auction to the highest bidder, the money to be invested for the use of his family. After his death the will was carried out to the letter.”

Here is another witness. The Rev. J. M. McCarter, a member of the Philadelphia Conference, and now (1859) stationed at West Chester, Pa., in a recent pamphlet, entitled *Border Methodism and Border Slavery*, says :—

“Many of our private members are slaveholders. . . . We have given some attention to the question, and from our observation on the two districts, Easton and Snowhill, we have come to the conclusion that there are about 1500 members of our Church in the Philadelphia Conference who are slaveholders. . . . These, we think, are owners of about 4000 slaves. This is not too large an estimate. It has been made up and the figures obtained from those ministers who have spent a large part of the last ten years on those districts.

“The proportion of slaveholders to the entire membership (white) on Snowhill district is about one to every ten; on Easton district one to every seventeen.”—(P. 21).

This estimate, it must be remembered, is for only *two districts* in the Philadelphia Conference, leaving out the whole of the Baltimore, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas Conferences. Now let us for a moment examine the character of this Methodist slaveholding. There are not those wanting who would tell us that under the mild treatment of the religious slaveholder, the slave has no reason to complain; but the experience of those who have lived under religious despotism goes far to convince us to the contrary. Here is the testimony of the Rev. G. S. Lame, a Methodist minister and a member of the Philadelphia Conference. In his pamphlet just published, *Maryland Slavery and Maryland Chivalry*, he says :—

“Such were the abominations of the traffic, as practised by church members and ministers, by professors and publicans, that we were driven to the admission that, considering the circumstances, the American is the worst system of slavery that ever saw the sun; and, with our eye fixed on the fires of the last judgment,

we aver that such shocking abomination, grinding oppression, cruel barbarities, unrelenting despotism, and foul impurities are practised on the eastern shore of Maryland, as would have disgraced earth's most barbarous age and nation. And yet the system with which these atrocities seem inseparably connected, finds apologists innumerable in the Church, and even among God's ministers."

Wesleyan Methodists of Britain, read the following—mark it well—brand it on your memories—for in these few incidents you have a greater insight into the character of American Methodist slaveholders than volumes from our pen could unfold. Such incidents are happening every day within the precincts of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

"1. A little more than a twelvemonth ago, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church died, having left a slave, whom another Methodist sold to a 'nigger-buyer.'

"2. Another died within a shorter period, and his two-legged cattle were sold along with his four-legged.

"3. A Methodist owned a slave girl that was receiving the attention of a coloured man; he worked hard, lived economically, and bought this girl for a wife; he took a bill of sale, and filed a deed of manumission the same day. That slave never cost that Methodist master one cent; he got her by inheritance; her splendid moral, spiritual, and literary education devolved upon the shoulders of others, for be it understood she graduated with distinguished honours at the most eminent literary institution for the people of colour south of Mason and Dixon's line (her *alma mater* was the kitchen!); yet when this honourable, high-minded negro man wanted a companion, he had to pay hundreds of dollars for her to a Methodist master.—(Pp. 31, 32).

"4. A devoted Methodist recently, in the presence of the writer, was dilating upon the thorough and efficacious cow-hiding he had given his black woman, for refusing patiently to submit to a thrashing from her indignant mistress! Whilst listening to the recital my blood boiled a little, but suddenly cooled down lower than zero, upon recollecting that our Church is 'conservative,' and that 'agitation is much to be deplored,' it being peculiarly offensive to doctors.

"5. In one of the epistles of 'Junius' a Methodist master is spoken of, who 'boasted of the thorough and efficacious cow-hiding he had administered to his slave woman.' This good brother, provoked at the misconduct of one of his coloured women, beat and stamped her to that degree, that medical aid was requisite to preserve life and restore health. It seems that the flagellation of females is of frequent occurrence on the eastern shore; for—

"6. Another brother stoutly maintained that 'Junius' meant *him*, for it was *his case described*. We learn that this brother employed a broom handle for a rod of correction.

"7. And still another brother complained that 'Junius' had given to the public that he had cudgelled his black women, but gave the assurance that the whipping was deserved. Now we have to tell all these dear brethren, 'Junius'

meant neither. It was a Methodist in another county to whom he alluded."—(P. 49.)

"We have seen sights and heard sounds that might make the cheeks of a devil blush for his honour. We have seen the child of three summers torn from its mother's convulsive grasp, where her groans might almost be heard by the minister within the Methodist Episcopal sanctuary. We have seen the panting fugitive dragged back to his hated task. We have seen the ministers of Christ offer their reward for the return of runaways; and we have known one to spend the sacred Sabbath in getting the dogs of the law to fasten their fangs in the flesh of his brother. We have seen the wife violently separated from her husband, and the children separated from the mother."—(P. 56.)

O think of this, you who fraternize with this slaveholding community, and are desirous of saying 'Peace, peace, when there is no peace!' God help such polluted Methodism! We close our extracts by the following illustration of the blessedness of being owned by a pious Methodist preacher.

"8. On one occasion I found a little black girl employed as waiting maid, in fact, a general convenience. She seemed like an inoffensive, timid creature. A severe snow-storm arrived about the same time as we did, and the weather was fearfully cold. 'Hett' must with despatch execute all orders, whether issued by her master of forty, or her master of four years of age. Her wearing apparel consisted of two garments. Frequently have I seen her ankle deep in snow, with neither shoes nor stockings on. Hett fell heir to the supernumerary shoes of the family, great and small; and when, from long service to others, they became superannuated, it was her fortune to be destitute. Her suffering condition appealing to my sympathies, on condition of her performing a small job I promised to purchase her a pair of shoes. But the proposition seemed to rouse the dormant humanity of his majesty, her liege lord, and he procured her a pair. Taking a walk unexpectedly on the lawn in the rear of the house, I found poor Hett 'getting it good,' as it is termed, with a large-sized hoop-pole. I quietly returned, not having any special preference for such spectacles. One day Hett came to my room, to receive my orders as usual, when upon looking up I found a frightful gash in her cheek. Said I, 'What is the matter?' She hung her head and refused to answer, but on being pressed, and assured that no danger would follow, she replied, 'Massa.' 'Where was it done?' 'In the barn.' A few mornings subsequently I saw barefooted Hett come from the barn with a bleeding face, followed by her master. As the kind-hearted brother approached, I inquired if it was he that had struck her in the face. 'Don't know,' was the answer. I replied, 'You ought to know.' . . . Poor Hett, I have devoutly prayed that she might soon die, for death can be her only deliverance."

Such is the testimony of the Rev. J. S. Lane—a testimony which cannot be questioned, for he has lived amongst it, and what he has seen and heard, that he has testified. He also consi-

ders the estimate of the Rev. J. D. Long respecting the number of slaveholders now in the Church, as far below the real facts of the case.

One more case, and we must take leave of this portion of our subject.

9. Arthur Hughes, Esq. of Syracuse, N.Y., was in Jefferson City, Missouri, a year ago last August. While there, he stopped at the house of a Methodist lady. One morning he heard the slashings of a horsewhip, and a terrible outcry from a young female slave; and on going to the window, saw the Methodist sister whipping her slave most unmercifully. The crime for which she was thus brutally scourged was this:—the slave had a little boy, a mulatto, whose every feature and action proclaimed him the grandchild of this Methodist slaveholder; and in washing the little fellow, his slave-mother had used a little more water (which had to be drawn from the river) than her mistress thought she ought to. This slaveholding, woman-whipping mother in Israel boasted of having been a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church for seven and thirty years. We could multiply instances; but here is enough to serve our purpose. Now who shall say that the Methodist Episcopal Church is not a slaveholding church? It is a significant fact, that nearly three-fourths of the fugitives who pass over the eastern branch of the underground railroad, have run off from Methodist masters in Maryland and Virginia. And this is the church with which British Wesleyans fraternize, and whose representatives are welcomed to our English Wesleyan pulpits. Well may we exclaim, with astonishment, “How can these things be?”

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRESENT CONNECTION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH WITH SLAVERY.—SLAVEHOLDING OFFICIAL MEMBERS, TRUSTEES, STEWARDS, LEADERS, &c.

In the last chapter we showed to what an enormous extent private members of the Methodist Episcopal Church were guilty of slave-

holding, and it only requires us for a moment to remember the gross barbarity and sinfulness of this iniquitous system, that we may form a proper estimate of the religious professions of those who support it. There is no rule in the Discipline of this church, as it at present stands, forbidding slaveholding by its private members; but there is a rule forbidding the holding of slaves by official members and ministers, and it is our intention in this chapter to show that, in open defiance of rules and discipline, preachers and official members are guilty of this worst of crimes. The rule alluded to may be found on page 212 of the Discipline, and it expressly declares "that no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station in our Church hereafter, where the laws of the state in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom." Now, what are the facts of the case? The laws of the states where this slaveholding officary of the Methodist Episcopal Church exists and flourishes, allow of the emancipation of slaves, and permit the liberated captive to enjoy freedom. Why, at this moment there are in the states of Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas, about 170,409 free people of colour, and yet, in the face of all this, slaveholders are made eligible to ecclesiastical office, contrary to law, and the Church recognizes them as such. Let the reader hear the evidence, and judge for himself.

1. We have already, in a previous chapter, quoted Dr. J. T. Cooper, who acknowledges that in Maryland to such an extent does slaveholding pervade the Church, that they have not sufficient non-slaveholders to man the official boards. He therefore excuses it, on the ground of expediency.

2. In a letter to the *Northern Christian Advocate*, the Rev. J. D. Long says:—

"Chattel slavery still exists in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the states of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. The *practical and administrative example and influence* of the Church in those states is to perpetuate and extend slavery, as far as the Philadelphia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church is concerned. I will name some of the circuits within the slaveholding portion of our Conference:—Smyrna, Delton, Talbot, Easton, Centreville, Kent Island, Sudlersville, Kent, Millington, Seaford, Federalsburgh, Dorchester, Church Creek, Cambridge, Blackwater, Quantico, Salisbury, Princess Annie, Annamessex, Accomac, Northampton, New Town, Snowhill, Berlin, Worcester, Lewis, and George Town. I give it as my opinion that one-half the number of all the

trustees, class-leaders, exhorters, stewards, and local preachers on these circuits *are slaveholders.*"

3. The Rev. J. M. McCarter bears the same testimony. He says—

"Many of the stewards are slaveholders. To a great extent this office is represented by the moneyed men in the Church—the large holders of property. One-half of the whole number of stewards on those districts are probably slaveholders. While on the upper portions of Maryland and in Delaware they are comparatively but as one in five, on the southern portions of both districts the precise reverse may be taken as the ratio. One-half of the trustees of churches are probably connected with slavery. Exhorters, leaders, and local preachers are slaveholders."

The Rev. J. S. Laine, who has recently been driven from his circuit in Maryland, for writing anti-slavery articles for the (Methodist) *Zion's Herald*, says:—

"I have class-leaders, stewards, exhorters, local preachers, white and black, that hold slaves."—(P. 22.)

"Among the number (of slaves owned on his circuit) are twelve belonging to a circuit steward of the Methodist Episcopal Church."—(P. 24.)

"The Discipline certainly declares slaveholders ineligible to official stations in the Church, but the members of the Board of Stewards owned at least thirty slaves, and bought, bred, and beat them *ad libitum*. One member of that board we had frequently heard make the boastful assertion, that the moment his servants were dissatisfied, and wished another master, they were at perfect liberty to go; so, taking the good brother at his own proposal, one night the whole *posse* took French leave; but no sooner was the fact known that they had gone, than a large reward was offered for their apprehension and recovery."

4. The following is the copy of an advertisement which appeared in the Cambridge (Md.) *Democrat*, November 4th, 1857. At the same time twenty-eight fugitives passed through Syracuse, on the underground railroad, to Canada:—

"\$2000 Reward. Ran away from the subscriber, on Saturday night, 24th inst., fourteen head of negroes, namely, four men, two women, and seven children. Kit is about thirty-five years of age. 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high. Joe is about thirty years old, very black, his teeth are very white, and is about 5 feet 8 inches high. Henry is about twenty-two years old, of dark chestnut colour, and large front teeth. Joe is about twenty years old, heavy built, and black. Tom is about sixteen years old, light chestnut colour. Susan is about thirty-five years old, dark chestnut colour, and rather stout built, speaks rather slow, and has with her four children, varying from one to seven years old. Leah is about twenty-

eight years old, about 5 feet high, dark chestnut colour, with three children, two boys and one girl, from one to eight years old. I will give \$1000 if taken in the county, \$1500 if taken out of the county and in the state, \$2000 if taken out of the state; in either case to be lodged in Cambridge jail, so that I can get them again; or I will give a fair proportion of the above reward if any part are secured.

“SAMUEL PATTISON.

“Oct. 26th, 1857.

“Near Cambridge, Md.”

“P.S.—Since writing the above, I have discovered that my negro woman Sarah Jane, twenty-five years old, stout built, and chestnut colour, has also run off.”

Now this ‘brother Pattison’ is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Dorchester county, and a steward in that church, with which British Wesleyans rejoice to fraternize. Shall such fraternization with man-stealers continue to exist? If so, then with truth may it be said, ‘When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast become partaker of adultery.’

According to the General Minutes of 1858, there are now in the six slaveholding Conferences 1012 local preachers, namely—

Two Baltimores,	390
Philadelphia,	338
Western Virginia,	176
Kentucky,	31
Missouri,	83
Arkansas,	29
Total	1012

Allowing 200 of these to be stationed on free soil, we shall have 812 located in slave territory, a large proportion of whom, we have reason to believe, are slaveholders.

5. *Dr. Lee*, of the *Richmond Christian Advocate*, asserts “that local preachers and ordained ministers in the local ranks in the *Methodist Episcopal Church, North*, are slaveholders.”

6. *Dr. McFerrin*, editor of the *Nashville Christian Advocate*, states, in his printed letters to Bishop Morris—

“You know that in Maryland and Virginia you have hundreds, yea, thousands of members who hold slaves; that you have ordained deacons and elders in the ministry of your Church who are slaveholders. You yourself have ordained to the office and work of the ministry many a slaveholder. . . . Bishop Waugh, Bishop Morris, and Bishop Janes, to my certain knowledge, have each ordained slaveholders to the offices of deacon and elder.”

7. The following case appeared in the *Northern Independent* (Methodist) for May, 1858.

"The Rev. Henry Hutt, a free coloured man, residing on the eastern shore of Maryland, and a local preacher in the Philadelphia Annual Conference of the *Methodist Episcopal Church*, has, by the force of his talents and industry, accumulated considerable wealth. There is no proof that the Rev. Mr. Hutt is, or has ever been, an Abolitionist. He is a Conservative, no doubt. It appears that, some months ago, a slave owned by the Rev. Henry concluded to take the underground railroad for the land of the free, but failed, was caught, brought back to this reverend slaveholder, was sold to the South, and the money pocketed by said Hutt. The Quarterly Conference did not take away his license for this conduct, and he is still a local preacher in our Church."

8. Take another advertisement, from the *Cambridge Democrat*. Mark its modern date. These are not deeds of bygone days, but being acted out this very hour.

"\$300 Reward. Ran away from the subscriber, from the neighbourhood of Town Point, on Saturday night, 24th inst., my negro man, Aaron Cornish, about thirty-five years old. He is about 5 feet 10 inches high, black, good-looking, rather pleasant countenance, and carries himself with a confident manner. He went off with his wife, Daffney, a negro woman belonging to Reuben E. Phillips. I will give the above reward if taken out of the county, and \$200 if taken in the county; in either case to be lodged in Cambridge jail."

"Oct. 28th, 1857.

LEVI D. TRAVERSE."

This Traverse is a wealthy local preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and is resident on Taylor's Island, Dorchester County, Md.

In a letter dated Taylor's Island, February 12th, 1858, published in the *Cambridge Eagle*, and signed "Levi D. Traverse," the following defence is made. He says:—

"I now propose to speak in my own defence before that court which my ecclesiastical judge has been pleased to arraign me. In his charge he has been very careful to state that I am a local preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a truth I would not disguise. I am an humble local preacher of the said church, a position I pray God I may never dishonour. I love the Methodist Episcopal Church; she is my spiritual mother. She took me in when I was a helpless infant; I have been rocked in her cradle, nurtured in her lap, educated in her school, and subscribe to her articles of religion, and endorse her Discipline, and desire no amendments. I prefer her to all the various branches of Christ's visible Church, because I believe her to be the truest resemblance of the Apostolic Church. I will battle upon her fields—fight under her banner while

she holds to her Wesleyan discipline. But if she changes her colours I shall throw off all allegiance to her before her filibustering sons shall *spew* me out, and join myself to another division of the family of God. I am also charged with claiming property in the person of a negro man, named Aaron Cornish, who ran away, and I offered a reward for his apprehension," &c.

Well does the Rev. Henry Mattison, speaking of this defence, say, "Yes, this slaveholding Levite is a great Methodist! His phylactery is made very broad for his "spiritual mother," whose Discipline he dearly loves. But what of that rule, page 212 of this 'Wesleyan Discipline:' 'No slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station hereafter?' &c. Does the Rev. Pharisee indorse that? Nay, but impiously tramples it under his feet."

One more instance of slaveholding by a local preacher, and we will pass to another phase of our subject. This is furnished by the Rev. S. J. Lame's pamphlet.

"During 1857, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose laudatory obituary appeared in the 'great official,' having died intestate, a black man, belonging to the estate of the deceased, a Methodist also, was put on the block by the executors, and purchased by a coloured local preacher on the same circuit. A short period after his purchase the same piece of property decamped, as rumour says, owing to harsh treatment. He was apprehended, returned, taken to Baltimore, and offered for the Southern market, but his sale was spoiled by the constant assertion of the negro, that his family connections, together with himself, are subject to fits—information that was perfectly correct. As far as we could learn, commiseration was felt for the local preacher."—(P. 26.)

Now, putting all these facts together, weighing these various testimonies, and remembering that the American Methodist Episcopal Church has nearly 1000 local preachers in slave territory, we do not hesitate to say that 500 of them, to say the least, are guilty of holding property in man. But we have a darker scene yet to present. These are facts which it is painful to record, but they have too long been concealed and garnished. We *must* be faithful, God bearing witness to the purity of our motives and the sincerity of our purpose.

Not only are private and official members of this Church guilty of slaveholding, but even travelling preachers and ministers are not an exception to its corrupting influences. We have reason to suppose that even high dignitaries in the Church are indirectly connected with slavery; but as positive proof is wanting, we are willing they should have the benefit of the doubt, and therefore

proceed at once to prove that slaveholding exists amongst the travelling preachers and ministers. Here is an extract from the *Richmond Christian Advocate*, of which the Wesleyans of Great Britain should take special notice, as it refers to gentlemen to whom they are not entire strangers. Dr. M'Clintock and Bishop Simpson were the delegates from the American Methodist Episcopal Church to the British Conference of 1857, and declared before that Conference that theirs was not a slaveholding church. Let a member of their own church refute their assertions.

1. Dr. Lee, in the columns of the *Richmond Christian Advocate*, says most emphatically—

“Sir, is it not known to *you*, and to *me*, and to *many, many others*, that in the church in which Bishop Simpson and Dr. M'Clintock are ministers, and from which they were delegates to the Wesleyan Methodist Church, there are thousands and thousands of slaves, and that these slaves are owned and worked from sun to sun by the *members* and *ministers* of said church? Will Bishop Simpson, or Dr. M'Clintock, or the *New York Express*, or any one else, undertake to deny that there are many slaveholders and slaveworkers among the *private members*, and the *official members*, and the *ministers* of the Northern Division of the Methodist Episcopal Church? They will not try it. It cannot be denied.”

And again—

“If you never knew it before, learn it now from me, *the preachers and people in the Northern Division of the Methodist Episcopal Church hold slaves as truly as do those in the Southern Division.*”

Can anything be more clear or emphatic? Although Bishop Simpson and Dr. M'Clintock, in England, denied what this writer asserts, we have yet to learn that in America, amongst their own people, they ever attempted to refute Dr. Lee's assertion. And why not? Because there were facts staring them in the face which could not be gainsayed or refuted. We present the reader with a few.

2. The Rev. Thomas Carlton, book agent, asserted, in the winter of 1855, that the Rev. S. G. Rozel, of the Baltimore Conference, was the owner of three slaves. This he admitted at the Black River Conference, 1857, and also at the Canandaigua Conference of the same year. He also admitted at this last place, that he had known of another member of the same Conference who owned twelve slaves. Whether these slaves are still held by a Methodist

preacher, or have changed hands, or were sold further South, we are not informed.

3. The Rev. H. Mattison, of the Black River Conference, says, "We know, from the most positive evidence, that there have been for years, *and are still*, several slaveholders among the members of the Philadelphia Conference."

4. The Rev. J. D. Long says, "A widow of one of the *preachers* of the Philadelphia Annual Conference died since January of the present year (1858). She resided in Maryland. She was wealthy, and a slaveholder. Shortly before her decease she gave 300 or 400 dollars towards building for our preachers one of the finest parsonages on the eastern shore of Maryland. She left a portion of her wealth to the Methodist Episcopal Church, *South*."—(*Pictures of Slavery*, p. 385.)

5. The Rev. William Quinn, a member of the Conference, is owner of some twenty slaves. In 1852 all the members of the Conference were asked, "Are you a slaveholder?" The rev. gentleman was known to be a slaveholder, and a resolution was passed by the Conference requiring him to manumit his slaves. In obedience to this command, he had deeds of manumission recorded, to take effect when each slave shall have attained the age of thirty-five. But even this is not so plausible as upon first sight it appears to be, for be it remembered that even the children of these manumitted slaves, and their children after them, can be held in bondage until they have attained thirty-five years of age; and when worn down by these thirty-five years of unremitting toil—when the summer of their strength is passed, and autumnal age creeps o'er them—when hard toil has worn their weary limbs, and their children around them in slavery—when the best hours of their lives have been spent for another's gain—then, if they choose, they may tear them from their miserable homes to face the world, and begin their start in life. This is Mr. Quinn's own showing. This same Methodist minister admitted that he sent a slave to Baltimore *and sold him*, but alleged as an excuse that the slave was a thief, and liable to be arrested and convicted, in which case he would be sold to go South. Here is a Methodist preacher who has been a slaveholder since 1842, or for sixteen years past at least, and *known* to be such by every member of the Conference. He now owns twenty or more slaves,

and is raising more as fast as he can, and has even commenced selling off his superabundant stock; and yet he is permitted to hold the rank and position of Methodist preacher, and administer the ordinances of God amongst His people.

6. The Rev. E. J. Way, on his name being called, arose and said, "I am a native of Pennsylvania. I have married two wives on the peninsula (Md.), both of whom were the daughters of slaveholders. On the death of my first father-in-law he left ten slaves, of whom a part fell to me. They were manumitted (that is, to be free, as we learned, at a future period, say at thirty-five years of age). Some of the slaves had been sold, one of whom realized 650 dollars. Of this amount sixty dollars fell to me, though I have not yet received it. I have proposed to my wife to invest it for the benefit of Jim when his time is out, that he may go to Liberia, or take it and go East with it, and invest it in Abolition tracts, or anything else he chooses." (Great laughter.) The Rev. E. J. Way was still a slaveholder, and yet he was permitted to retain his position as a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

7. Before the same Conference, the Rev. M. D. Kurtz acknowledged that his wife had an interest in two or three slaves, but they were all manumitted to be free at the age of twenty-eight or thirty. Now it is requisite to understand what this manumission at a certain age signifies. This reverend man-stealer manumits his slaves to be free at the age of twenty-eight or thirty. All the children born to these slaves prior to that time are slaves, and must remain so until they arrive at the specified age. Thus it is evident that emancipating slaves at the age of thirty does not prevent the Rev. M. D. Kurtz from being a slaveholder all his life long. He only robs man of his liberty half his time instead of all; but if it is right for a Methodist minister to hold his fellow-man in chains for thirty years, it is right for him to do so for a longer period. And yet the Conference passed his name, and he is still permitted to rank amongst the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

8. The Rev. William Warner, of the same Conference, is a slaveholder. He, according to his own testimony, has inherited several slaves from his father's estate, which he still owns. They are manumitted to be free, the females at twenty-five, the boys at

twenty-eight, and their issue at the same age. It was believed that the Discipline justified him in this course, and his name was passed and accepted by the Conference as a suitable minister for the Methodist Episcopal Church.

We could multiply instances, but refrain. What! and has it come to this! Ministers, God's ambassadors on earth, those who to the world should be emblems of holy purity—ministers of the gospel, and followers of the immortal Wesley—who compromise truth and righteousness, and rob their fellows of that manhood which the Almighty has implanted in their bosoms! Hide your heads for shame, ye hypocrites, who dare to sanctify your "execrable villainy" by wearing the livery of Heaven, and profess to be God's representatives on earth! Tear off the emblems of purity, do not add hypocrisy to knavery, but choose ye some secluded spot where, unseen or unheard by the world, ye may whip the toil-worn victims of your avarice to the grave!

But shall it be said that the Church recognizes such men to be her leaders? Shall Wesley's glory be tarnished? Shall Methodism be polluted? Shall God be dishonoured that such men may join hands with sin and righteousness, and administer around God's altars as his servants? *It is so.* While we pen these lines thousands of slaves are toiling beneath the lash of Methodist preachers!—toiling that another may reap gain—toiling, and bleeding, and dying beneath the shadow of Methodist pulpits and on Methodist plantations!

We believe it to be a solemn fact that this day there exists within the pale of the Northern Division of the Methodist Episcopal Church 15,000 slaveholders, owning 100,000 slaves. The following figures may give credence to our estimate. It is estimated that now (1859) there are in the United States over 4,000,000 slaves held in bondage. But we will take the last census (1850), which states 3,204,313. Of these, 914,376, considerably more than one-fourth of the whole, are located within the bounds of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *North*. According to De Bows' *Compendium*, p. 95, there are only 347,525 slaveholders, which gives an average of nine slaves to each slaveholder. If, therefore, there be 15,000 slaveholders members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which by competent authorities is considered a low estimate, and they hold an average number of slaves with other slaveholders, there must be 135,000 slaves now held in bondage by this church. Take another

estimate. According to the last census, within the boundary of the Church are 136,958 slaveholders, and 914,376 slaves, or about $6\frac{2}{3}$ to each slaveholder. Now if the Methodists of this locality own slaves in proportion to others, then the 15,000 Methodist slaveholders own at least 100,000 slaves. This we believe to be a solemn, dreadful fact. Oh "tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice lest the unbelievers triumph."

"Woe to the priesthood—woe
 To those whose hire is with the price of blood ;
 Perverting, darkening, changing as they go
 The searching truths of God.
 Who turn
 Judgment aside, and rob the holy Book
 Of those high words of truth which search and burn
 In warning and rebuke."

CHAPTER V.

METHODIST SLAVE BUYING AND SELLING.

WHILST writing upon this subject, we think our evidence would not be complete without referring our readers to the fact that the members of this Methodist Church are guilty of buying and selling their black brethren for purposes of gain. Although the Discipline expressly declares that none "shall sell a slave or buy one, except on purpose to free him," yet it is a fact that in the present case discipline is laid aside, and expediency has become the law. We have already shown that the Methodist Episcopal Church extends into the Slave States of Maryland and Virginia. Perhaps all our readers may not know the exact relation these states bear to the internal slave trade. The position is this. All the plantations are worn out and decayed; it is not therefore to agricultural produce that the slaveholder looks for gain. These states are essentially slave-breeding states. They rear slaves for the market, as farmers in our own country rear cattle. Here you may see the extent to which this trade is carried on. From a return made to the House of Representatives of South Carolina in 1857, it appears that from

1840 to 1850 the increase of slaves in Maryland and Virginia was 30 per cent. These are disposed of as follows:—

Maryland exported,	26,270
„ kept at home,	613
Virginia exported,	111,259
„ kept at home,	23,441

Here we have 137,529 sold into life-long bondage—torn from their kindred, home, and friends by a ruthless hand. Who shall tell of the affections severed and the hearts broken by this inhuman separation! Now, as Methodist slaveholders are pretty numerous in these states, and as this is the staple traffic, it is only reasonable to suppose that Methodists, in common with other slaveholders, are engaged in this nefarious traffic. Facts bear out this supposition.

1. The Rev. J. D. Long says:—

“Since the publication of the first edition of my book, a friend inquired of me whether I had ever known one member of the Church to be arrested for selling a slave to another member of the Church. I answered that I never had. If one member of the Church wants money, and another member of the Church residing in the neighbourhood wants a slave, the sale is made, and no more attention is paid to the sale than would be paid to the selling of a horse. It is not considered a violation of the Discipline, for it is but the exchange from one mercenary slaveholder to another. I know a recent case, in which a member of the highest standing in the Church sold slaves to another member of equal standing, and the sale was regarded as a common business transaction. If a church member needs a hand, he buys a slave, if he wishes to do so, of either saint or sinner, or at a public sale, as best suits his purposes, with the intention of reaping the fruits of his involuntary labour. I appeal to the preachers of the Philadelphia Conference if it is not so.”

Here is an instance of Methodist kidnapping, by the same authority:—

“A free coloured man, and cousin of Frederick Douglass, married a woman who was also free. They had no children of their own; but a free coloured woman on her decease had left them her little daughter to bring up. According to the laws of Maryland, a white man can seize upon a free coloured man's children, take them before a magistrate, and have them bound to service against the consent of their parents. On the holy Sabbath a rich Methodist, accompanied by a constable, entered the freeman's dwelling and carried away the child. The delinquent was brought before the Church. A committee was appointed, but the man was acquitted; and this moral and religious kidnapper is still in the Church.”—(P. 401, 402.)

2. The Rev. J. M. M'Carter, referring to this buying and selling of slaves, declares:—

“Not a road over which the members of the Philadelphia Conference have passed in Maryland and Virginia, but has been travelled by the manacled slave, torn from the endearments of birthplace and kindred. Scarcely an altar of any church in which he has ministered, from which the slave has not been taken, to return no more to that place in the church's gallery where he was wont to worship and sing of heaven as the place where ‘the slave should be free from his master.’ And in many instances the Church's own dark children have been the victims of these cruel exportations.

“They have gone, but not by the tide of voluntary immigration, or by death, from our churches. Their names have been lost to the class record, but they bore not with them a certificate of membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church to their distant bondage. Why should they? It would but enhance their market value, and put the more dollars into the pockets of the mercenary wretches who would sell the religion of the slave by making the evidence of its possession the reason for a higher bid as he stood on the auction block.

“Each year in the slave population of Maryland and Virginia, a large portion of the ‘increase’ is carried into the more Southern States. During the eleven years of Conference silence, how many thousands have been borne away in chains from the field of labour occupied by the ministers of the Philadelphia Conference. Methodists too have helped to swell the number of those thus sold, and yet the Conference has been silent. Ah! in this Church's own bosom is the foul plague spot, and her relation to slavery in the connection of preachers, stewards, leaders, and private members with slaveholding—in this there is found the secret of silence to the enormities of the traffic in the world without; because the principle of *property in human beings* is conceded practically in the Church, and she can but be a very ‘Satan reproving sin,’ by condemning the law and usages which control movable property in its being carried to the highest market.”

3. In 1858, says the Rev. H. Mattison, while at the Philadelphia Conference at Easton, we were told by one of its members (and he was not an Abolitionist either) that he saw a coloured “boy” whom he knew, go on board of a steamboat at Norfolk, bound for the South; and who had been sold to a slave-trader by his Methodist owner. He said the poor fellow looked wistfully towards the shore of his native land as the boat moved off from the dock, and “wept as though his heart would break.” He called him a “boy”—but in plantation parlance all male slaves are “boys,” be they even 80 years of age. If a “boy” literally, poor fellow, he might well weep that he was to be severed from his kindred for ever. If a slave of maturer years, and a father and a husband, 'tis not surprising that anguish should wring his soul as he bade a last farewell to all he loved on earth. Think of it, then, British

Wesleyans; your brethren in America are selling thousands every year!

Here is an extract from a MS. letter from a travelling preacher in the West:—

“Four fugitive slaves from Missouri passed through here yesterday, and shortly after four bloodhounds were on their track. . . . I had a conversation with a slaveholder from Missouri, who told me that Methodists in that state bought, sold, bred, and hired slaves same as other people.”

5. The following is extracted from Rev. J. D. Long's *Pictures of Slavery*, and may give the reader a tolerably good idea how *business* is transacted in the Methodist Episcopal Church:—

“But it is contended that the members of the Church, South, can sell negroes to the traders in flesh and blood when they please, but that our members can be expelled for such traffic. We will grant that this is the theory; but in practice there is very little difference, as far as my knowledge goes. There are many ways to avoid this rule and expulsion. Take an example. Brother Hardshell wants money; perhaps he has an extravagant family. He has made up his mind to sell a negro man; and as he must have an excuse, he charges him with impudence. His conscience goads him; and he is ashamed to tie him and ride with him to the county town, and be caught bargaining with the negro-buyer. So he goes to Mr. Skinflint, who represents a class of men in the South, who for fifty cents will give a woman stripped to her waist thirty-nine lashes, and offers him \$25 if he will come at night and take him to the negro-buyer; and this is done according to contract. Perhaps weeks elapse before the preacher hears it, and then it is ‘nigger news.’ It is considered beneath the dignity of a gentleman to be prowling around negro quarters to see if any slaves are missing. But should the preacher in charge call upon brother Hardshell, he demands *proof* that he ever sold a slave. There is no proof at hand. If he admits it, he charges the negro with being a thief, or being saucy, or some other fault. This is about the end of the affair. And the preacher must not show too much zeal in the matter. If he does, the cry of ‘Abolitionist’ will ring about his ears. Mr. Skinflint can procure among his associates plenty of tar and feathers.”

Thus is iniquity concealed, and truth made to succumb to unrighteousness. Thus do men belie their Christianity, and mock at sin. Alas! for the toiling thousands whose lacerated bodies and weary frames appeal to Heaven for vengeance! Alas! for the bondsmen whose fetters are riveted, whose hopes are prostrated, whose hearts are broken, whose prospects are blighted, whose manhood is crushed, and whose souls are cursed by American Methodism!

“Ah! yet, degraded men, the expected day
That breaks your bitter cup is far away;
Trade, wealth, and fashion ask you still to bleed,
And holy men give Scripture for the deed!”

Now let us sum up the facts and testimonies already adduced, and mark well the result. We have shown—

That the founders of the Methodist Episcopal Church were zealous Abolitionists, exerting themselves most strenuously to keep slavery out of the Church, and to abolish it for ever. We have traced briefly the history of this Church, showing that in her origin she was free from the taint of blood; that in 1784, her organization was thoroughly anti-slavery; that slavery was let into the Church in open violation of law; that instead of the Discipline ruling slavery, slavery ruled the Discipline; and that to such an extent did she become corrupted and demoralized, that in 1844 one of her bishops was guilty of slaveholding. We showed that when the secession of 1845 took place, the leaven of corruption still remained in the Northern Division. We have proved that members, official members, stewards, class-leaders, exhorters, local preachers, and travelling preachers of this church are now slaveholders, reaping their sordid gain from the unpaid toil of slaves—dealing in the bodies and souls of their brethren, and supporting and defending a system which can only be surpassed in hell itself. We have demonstrated that to-day, within the bounds of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, 100,000 slaves are groaning in their fetters, and held in bondage by the followers of liberty-loving Wesley.

Think of it, ye men of God who read these pages, and within whose souls the fire of God's love for ever burns—think of it, ye who sit in high places, and are the vanguard of our English Wesleyanism—think of it, ye thousands of deacons, and elders, and local preachers, and exhorters of our Methodist churches of Britain—think of it, ye hundreds of thousands of followers of the immortal Wesley, who breathe the free air of England, and revel in all the blessedness of civil and religious liberty—think of it. The church with whom you fraternize—whose members you call brethren—whose representatives you welcome to your homes, and in whose so-called prosperity you have so oft delighted—this brother Church of yours holds now in chains 100,000 victims! Is this the Church

of Christ? Are you satisfied to let these things alone? Perhaps one outspoken word of yours may turn the tide of conflict, and be the means of saving this Church from everlasting disgrace; or perhaps that word withheld may lose the battle, and heap infamy around your head. Then shall it be said of you—

“Thy name—thy human name—shall hang on high;
Exalted 'midst thy less abhorred compeers,
To fester through the infamy of years.”

CHAPTER VI.

THE GREAT MORAL CRISIS.—A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY NOW PRESENTED,
WHICH OUGHT NOT TO BE LOST.

WE said in our opening remarks, that when the Church of old was in her most dilapidated condition, God never left himself without a witness. This truth is also illustrated in the history of the Methodist Church. In her history there have been seasons when she appeared like the “valley of dry bones” in the prophet’s vision—a mass of pollution, rot, and decay—and we too have been led to inquire, “Son of man, can these dry bones live?” The Spirit of God has breathed upon the sluggish mass, and oft have men arisen, clad in the armour of God, to do battle with the adversary. Nevertheless there are those in the Church who would cry “Peace, peace, when there is no peace.” These are the men who would curb the volcano by weaving a thin tissue o’er the fiery crater; but “there is no peace to the wicked, saith my God;” and so long as the American Methodist Church shall tolerate a woman-whipping, man-stealing, and soul-damning religion, she may expect to be rent asunder and branded with God’s displeasure. She has fostered slavery in her bosom at an immense sacrifice. By so doing, in 1843 she drove from her altars some 200 ministers, and 20,000 members in the North—good and holy men, who were zealous for God’s honour—men of principle and conscience—men of piety and intelligence. In 1844 slavery wanted a slaveholding bishop, and because it could not be gratified, 2000 ministers and 350,000

members seceded, and now form the Methodist Episcopal Church, *South*—a church in which the most flagrant wrongs are perpetrated, and within whose precincts the most brutal outrages are sanctified. Thus has slavery alienated nearly *half a million* of Wesley's children from the mother church, some who have arisen to a higher elevation of purity, others who have descended to a lower degradation of woe. But even now she is again liable to be rent in twain. Slavery is still in the Church, as we have fully shown—the gangrene still festers the already amputated limb—and fearful is the amount of suffering she may yet have to undergo. Already the signal for battle has been sounded, and earnest men, animated by sincere desires for God's glory and the interests of the Church, are up in arms, and preparing for the conflict. It is of no use wincing at the matter, or poohing at the danger. The devil has gained admission into the sanctuary, and must be ejected; the conflict must come on—

“Shoulder to shoulder, naked breast to breast.”

In the General Conference of 1856, steps were taken to root out this system of iniquity, but they were foiled by the enemies of liberty. Much dissatisfaction was occasioned by this defeat; murmurs of discontent were heard on every hand, and men were for giving up in despair, and determining to wash their hands from this foul iniquity, by withdrawing from the Church. But their strong attachment to the “good old ship” has influenced them to make another final effort. This is to take place at the General Conference of May, 1860, which is to be held in Buffalo, N. Y. State. After the defeat of 1856, a newspaper, the *Northern Independent*, was started to aid them in the struggle. To this and other instrumentalities thousands of American Wesleyans are looking for deliverance from this horrid curse. Should these prove unavailing, they will leave the Church for ever; and this only to be repeated at no distant day, should the Church continue in her present position. In this struggle wealth and influence are against the cause of liberty, truth, and righteousness. The hands of the brave warriors for justice are weak, though their hearts are strong. They need influence and help from every quarter of the globe. They have made this a world-wide question, and North, South, East, and West are calling upon every faithful son and daughter of Wesley to rally round them in their hour of need, and aid them

in restoring the perfection of Zion, and reviving the tarnished glory of our good old Methodism. Let them speak for themselves. The following appeal was signed by 238 ministers of this Church, and representatives of 42,000 members. Only two Conferences out of the forty-seven have been canvassed; and we are assured, on very good authority, that, had time and means permitted, these signatures could have been increased tenfold. From statistics now in our possession, we believe this to be the truth. Be that as it may, if Wesleyans of Britain will not believe and listen to the appeal of 42,000 of their brethren, neither would they listen if the appeal were signed by ten times the amount.

AN APPEAL

TO

ALL MEMBERS OF THE GREAT METHODIST FAMILY,

AFFILIATING WITH THE

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

BELOVED BRETHREN IN CHRIST,—The undersigned ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America would respectfully represent,—

That at an early day in our history as a Church, slaveholders were tolerated among us as Members; that the practice had become so common, that in 1844 one of our Bishops was found to be a slaveholder; that a resolution requesting him not to officiate as a Bishop till that impediment was removed, caused a division of the original M. E. Church in 1845; and that, notwithstanding that division, the Methodist Episcopal Church (that is, the Northern Division of the original Church) is still deeply involved in the sin and shame of slaveholding. We have thousands of slaveholders yet in the Church—Trustees, Stewards, Leaders, and Local Preachers; and even Travelling Preachers have become slave-

holders in several instances, and are such still, with but little disapprobation, as a general thing, on the part of the Conferences to which they belong. Such is our present connection with this terrible crime against humanity.

The undersigned, and tens of thousands in the private membership of our Church, feel that these things are wrong in the sight of God—a disgrace to Methodism and our common Christianity, and a stumbling-block to unbelievers. We therefore feel that it is our bounden duty to secure, if possible, at the next session of our General Conference, which takes place at Buffalo, N. Y. (U. S.), May 1st, 1860, a disciplinary rule, by which all slaveholders shall be declared ineligible to membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Slavery is deeply cursing our nation, and its malign influence is not less deadly upon the Church of God; and we feel it to be our duty, as much as in us lieth, to remove this curse, and to wipe away this reproach from the otherwise pure escutcheons of our common Methodism.

But we have learned by experience that the slave power is a formidable power. Slaves bring high prices, and some of our Members raise, and own, and sell them, as others do, to their great pecuniary profit. And a portion of the Ministry, especially in the Slave States, are strongly opposed to any ecclesiastical action that will exclude slaveholders from the Church, or even condemn the practice of slaveholding.

In this state of things, while we are determined to do all in our power to secure the exclusion of slaveholding from the Methodist Episcopal Church, we feel the need of all the moral influence we can command, in order to a successful termination of our labours. We stand on the original anti-slavery platform of WESLEY and WATSON, and CLARKE, and of COKE, and ASBURY, the founders of our Church in this country; and we have no other object in view but to purify our American Zion from this terrible abomination.

To you, therefore, we appeal, sons and daughters of the-Wesleys,

under God, in all lands, and of every subordinate name ! Will you not cast the weight of your influence into the scale of humanity and justice in the approaching contest ? You can exert a powerful influence for good upon the next General Conference of the M. E. Church in these United States. And is there not a moral propriety in your so doing ? Every Methodist on the globe is disgraced by the slaveholding now tolerated in the M. E. Church ; and you have all a *right* to speak, and, if need be, to *remonstrate*, in earnest and unequivocal language, in behalf of our common Methodism and Christianity.

We appeal to you, therefore, in this fearful, and we hope final struggle against slavery in the M. E. Church, to help us, by sending memorials or deputations to the General Conference of 1860. And we entreat those honoured bodies, in England and in Canada, who have heretofore favoured us with deputations at our quadrennial sessions, if need be, to instruct their future delegates to give, while among us, an unequivocal voice for FREEDOM, and against oppression, in the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ.

To all regular bodies of Methodists in England, and Australia, and Canada, and the West Indies, who may not send delegates to our approaching General Conference, we say, Men of Israel, help ! May we not hear your voice with ours, in the form of memorials to our next General Conference ? They would greatly strengthen the hands of the enemies of slavery in this land, and could not fail to hasten the day of the Church's purification from this great sin. In such a struggle against slavery, ought not every Methodist on the globe to speak ? So we think, and so we hope it will be. This is the only land in which Methodists raise, and own, and buy, and sell slaves, and we are struggling to wipe away this reproach. O, brethren !—sons of the Wesleys of every clime !—will you not come to our aid, by your delegates or memorials, in this, the grandest moral conflict of the age, that victory may be the more certain, and the blessing of many a liberated bondman, and of a regenerated Church, may come upon you ?

Memorials should be addressed: "General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to be held at Buffalo, New York, May, 1860. Care of Rev. H. Mattison, New York, United States of America."

YOUR BRETHREN IN CHRIST.

(Signed by 238 Methodist Ministers.)

Now this appeal has been sent to England. How it has been received by English Methodists may be seen from the following items. It was forwarded to the Conference of the *Methodist New Connection* by the Leeds Young Men's Anti-slavery Society, and the following resolution was recorded in its favour:—

Resolved:—"That a memorial be sent to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, New York, U.S. (May 1860), earnestly entreating our brethren to purify their Church, by ceasing to hold communion with slaveholders."

Copies of the appeal were also forwarded by the same society, together with a memorial in its support, to the Conference of the *Methodist Free Church*, assembled at Sheffield. It was responded to in the following plain and unmistakeable manner.

Resolved:—"That as this assembly deems the holding of human beings as chattels an offence against the rights of humanity and the teachings of God's word, it rejoices in the movement now brought under its notice for the suppression of slavery in America, by excluding slaveholders from church-fellowship in the American Methodist Episcopal Church, North; and therefore will gladly avail itself of the opportunity of addressing a respectful memorial on this subject to the General Conference of the aforesaid Church, to be held next year in Buffalo."

The American appeal was sent direct from America to the Wesleyan Conference assembled at Manchester; and the following letter, in support of it, was also forwarded from the Leeds Anti-slavery Association to the same body:—

The Leeds' Anti-slavery Association to the Wesleyan Conference, held at Manchester, July, 1859.

"FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—An appeal, signed by 238 Wesleyan ministers in America, and addressed 'to all the members of the great Wesleyan family throughout the world,' having come to our hands, we feel called upon to exert

our influence in promoting its object, which is—to enable the Methodists of the United States to adopt measures at their next General Conference, at Buffalo, to remove the curse of Slavery, and wipe away its reproach from the Methodist body.

“Without entering into any consideration of the inherent sinfulness of slavery, and the innumerable evils necessarily arising out of it—pithily described by your great and good founder, John Wesley, as “the sum of all villainies”—we earnestly entreat you, at the Conference now assembling in Manchester, to be of one heart and of one mind in cordially responding to this appeal, made to you from your fellow-members on the other side the Atlantic.

“It remains to be a lamentable fact, that the most powerful force which binds the chain on America’s four million slaves, exists within the religious bodies of that country. It is in its religious organizations that the system which makes merchandize of our fellow-creatures—degrading them to a level with the beasts—has its strongest support. They are its bulwarks; and, as the Rev. Albert Barnes declares, ‘there is no power *out* of the Church that could sustain Slavery an hour, if it were not sustained *in it*.’

“Wesleyans! yours is not amongst the least of the churches in this country, or in America, either as regards numbers or the weight of your influence. Consider well, therefore, we beseech you, the great responsibility devolving upon you, for good or for evil, in your mode of dealing with the matter in question.

“In your letter to our Association, dated August 15th, 1857, you assure us that the Conference ‘*does not yield to any body of men in the sincerity of its desire for the abolition of Slavery.*’ Such being the case, we implore you, let not the present opportunity pass by without giving undoubted evidence of that sincerity. Put forth your noblest energies for the help and encouragement of your brethren in America, who are endeavouring to wipe away the reproach of Slavery from your Church in that land. In reply to their appeal, let not your voice give an uncertain sound as regards their godly zeal in standing up against that fearful system, which some of them feel to be more than they can any longer bear your otherwise fair escutcheon to be tarnished with. They need your every aid and support to accomplish their object, for ‘on the side of the oppressor there is power.’

"Cordially respond to their call. Encourage them. Help them with all your might to remove this incubus, which, like a rapidly-progressing cancer, the longer it is permitted to grow the more difficult and dangerous does its eradication become; or which, on the other hand, like a serpent nursed within the bosom, must, as years roll on, unceasingly prove a fertile source of irritation and weakness, if it do not ultimately lead to a division in your borders.

“Brethren, we desire your welfare; our prayers are for you and with you in the great and noble work to which you are called by your brethren in religious fellowship in a distant land; and may the God of righteousness, justice, and mercy, strengthen you in the faithful performance of those high and sacred obligations which He has assuredly laid you under in this matter.

(Signed) "JOHN WILSON, J.P., *President.*
"WILSON ARMISTEAD, *Secretary.*"

After the question had been referred by the Conference to a committee, not of the most impartial character, the result was embodied in the following reply to the American appeal, a copy of which was forwarded to the Leeds Anti-slavery Association, in answer to their memorial in its support:—

Reply of the Wesleyan Conference to the Memorial of the Black River Conference.

"MANCHESTER CONFERENCE, Aug. 12th, 1859.

"DEAR BRETHREN,—Your memorial has been received by the Conference, and we are directed to state in reply, that as the Conference is in regular and friendly communication with the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, it cannot with propriety entertain the appeal of the Black River Conference. This reply is not given for the purpose of evading the question of Slavery in America. The Conference has not failed to declare most fully and strongly the sentiment held by the English Methodists on this subject, as the published minutes of the connection for the years 1835 and 1836 abundantly show. And in any future communications with the General Conference, every proper opportunity will be embraced to give a faithful testimony on this important question.—We are, dear brethren, on behalf of the Conference, yours very truly,

(Signed) "SAMUEL D. WADDY, *President*.
"JOHN FARRAR, *Secretary*."

This reply of the Manchester Conference virtually says to the American memorialists, "We cannot help you, because your appeal is *unconstitutional*." Now, gentlemen of the Conference, we have somewhat to ask you. When our Saviour was upon earth, the temple at Jerusalem was defiled by the sale of merchandise within its sacred precincts—the ill-gotten gain of its merchants polluting its sanctity. Did our Master and exemplar think for a moment of the *constitutionality* of his proceedings when "he made a scourge of small cords" and drove out the defilers, saying, "It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves?" Did He consult the scribes, and Pharisees, and elders who permitted this traffic, as to the *legality* of his proceedings? Now in this Methodist Church are defilers innumerable—men who dishonour God and disgrace Christianity by their iniquitous practices—and yet you cannot take part in their expulsion, as your Saviour did of old, because you are "*in regular and friendly communication with the General Conference*," which, like the

Scribes and Pharisees in our Saviour's day, wink at the defilement and sanction the sin. Far better had it been for you to have taken your stand nobly on the rock of immutable truth, and declared firmly, like your noble founder, that, "waiving for the present all other considerations, I [we] strike at the root of this complicated villainy—I [we] absolutely deny all slaveholding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice."

Again, gentlemen, you tell us that "you have not failed to declare, most fully and strongly, the sentiments held by English Methodists upon this subject," and you quote minutes of 1835-6 in proof of the same. If you have not failed in your duty in this respect, why refer to action taken twenty-five years ago? Why not of more modern date? This action was taken prior to the division of 1845, when the slaveholding Methodists of the South were united with the Northern Church. But what have you done since 1844? The Northern Church is more deeply implicated in slavery to-day than the original Church was in 1844. Then there was not half the slaveholding in proportion to the whole that we now know to exist. Then no case of buying and selling slaves was known among Methodists, but now we know it to be common. Then no local preacher, or deacon, or elder holding slaves could be found in the Church; now they can be numbered by hundreds. Then a member of the Baltimore Conference was suspended for owning a slave through his wife; now some twenty-six travelling preachers are known slaveholders, and there may be more. But where is your protest since 1844? Surely there is more need of your counsel and influence now than there ever was before; but you sternly refuse aid when solicited. In 1848, Dr. Dixon went to the American Conference, bearing a letter of introduction, in which *nothing* was said about slavery; and, during his sojourn amongst them, not a word did he say against its morality or its continuance. In 1852 no delegate was sent, and your address, sent by mail, never reached the Conference; its contents, therefore, are unknown. In 1856 Dr. Hannah and Dr. Jobson went as your representatives; they carried with them a brief address, which was *silent* upon the subject of slavery, and both these gentlemen maintained a studied silence upon this subject in all their addresses. In 1857, although you were warned as to the slaveholding character of the American Methodist Church, you unblushingly welcomed its delegates, in the persons of Bishop Simpson and Dr. M'Clintock, without warning

them of the danger into which their church was rapidly drifting. And in 1859 you refuse to aid hundreds of thousands of American Methodists to purify their portion of your church from this hideous sin. Gentlemen, Americans have watched your actions and wept over you; Englishmen have looked on and pitied you; Christians have grieved and prayed for you. You have compromised your honour, and caused the Church of Christ to sorrow. It is not too late to retrace your steps, and bear an unflinching testimony against "American Slavery, which is the vilest that ever saw the sun."

We do not desire to censure anybody, but the truth shall be upheld before the people, let it be felt where it may. We believe in the potency of truth. It is invincible, and nothing shall stay its course. We believe you have not been acquainted with the truth in regard to the connection of the Northern Methodist Episcopal Church with slavery, or you would certainly renew your former protests, if not altogether decline fraternal relations with such a corrupted Christianity. We wish every member of your Conference to be possessed of these facts, and every member of your churches to know them. Slavery has long enough found shelter in the churches. It is high time "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon" be unsheathed. Let, then, every hand be lifted high—let every voice be raised. Ministers and local preachers, stewards and exhorters, trustees and members of the Methodist churches of Britain, we entreat you, we beseech you, we implore you, join hands around the altar of your God and the sacred shrine of Methodism. Let not the foul oppressor pollute it with the blood of his human sacrifices. Rally round the white banner of liberty. Plant it as the emblem of truth, of purity, and holiness upon your battlements; and never permit it to be sullied or removed by the ruthless hand of the man-stealer. Say not that we desire the overthrow of your Church in thus seeking her good. It is because we love her, and desire to see her exalted in the eyes of a scoffing world, and because we desire to see her arrayed in garments unstained by the blood of the slave, we are impelled to labour for her honour, her purity, and her peace.

To every Methodist church in our land we appeal—to every Christian who breathes the free air of our blessed isle—to every one "who names the name of Christ." We ask on behalf of our American brethren your aid, and sympathy, and prayers in this trying conflict. We ask every individual church in our country

to testify against the sin of religious slaveholding. Let your memorials and appeals go up to the next American Conference, signed by thousands upon thousands. To every Christian who reads these pages, we would say, if you love God—if you love His church—if you hate iniquity—if you delight in the mission of your Saviour, who came to “undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free”—we call upon you for the sake of justice and mercy, truth and holiness—cease not to labour with us for the purity of God’s Church and the honour of his name.

Many of your brethren are in the field of contest; but they feel their strength to be weak, and their foe is strong. They need your help, your sympathy, and your prayers. Let not false fears detain you, for the battle is already waging, and the distant warfare sounds within our hearing.

“Up, Christian, up! and join the gathering van,
To rescue fly! for lo! your brother man,
’Mid sweat, and stripes, and groans, and shrieks, and pain,
Is slowly dragging out life’s lengthening chain.
Shoulder to shoulder, naked breast to breast;
Fight with the wrong, and dare not stay to rest,
Till might to right the conquest shall give o’er,
And freedom’s clarion sound from shore to shore.”

We have endeavoured plainly to set before the Methodists of this country the real position of their American brethren in regard to slaveholding. In conclusion, therefore, we would ask every Methodist church to send its memorial to the American Conference of 1860, independent of the action which may be taken by their Conferences at home. This Methodist slaveholding is an evil which should not be tolerated amongst Christians for a single day. Every Methodist has a right to speak out against this flagrant outrage, which is not only a disgrace to Christianity, but brings odium upon every disciple of Wesley. To these slaveholding Methodists you at present stand in the relation of brethren. By your long and continued silence upon the subject of American slavery, you have given them to understand that you acquiesce in their mode of treatment of this evil, and your conduct in this respect has been used as a means of defence against those who are labouring for God and liberty in the American Methodist Episcopal Church. Now we ask you to speak out, in plain unmistakeable language, against thus being made the means of sanctioning a slaveholding Methodism. We would recommend every Wesleyan who loves the purity of his

church, and desires to see her exalted and honoured amongst men, to set his hand to this work, and to work earnestly, prayerfully, and mightily, until success shall crown his labours. Rest assured your efforts will be highly appreciated by your co-workers across the Atlantic. Your influence and counsel will be felt and respected; and your heavenly Father himself shall reward you openly, by granting you an abundant blessing.

Copies of memorials, petitions, &c., may be obtained from W.M. H. PULLEN 33, Elmwood Street, Leeds, who is acting under the authority of the Societies named on the back of the title-page of this pamphlet, and who will be happy to supply any further information to those who desire to take part in this great work.

Anti-slavery societies in England are especially entreated to lose no opportunity of aiding this cause. A special appeal is being sent to the American Conference of 1860, from the British anti-slavery societies, copies of which may be had on application as above. We would also urge it upon our anti-slavery societies to make all the Wesleyan bodies in their respective localities acquainted with this work, that their influence may be solicited in strengthening the hands of their brethren in America. The Rev. H. Mattison, of New York, one of the leaders of this great movement, in one of his recent letters, says, "I am very much pleased with the idea of memorials from your anti-slavery societies; let them come by all means. Would to God that I could take up fifty with me to Buffalo in May, 1860." And again, in a letter of later date, "Cannot some of your British churches, which are not identified with us, lend us their influence and assistance in this trying conflict?"

Long have we complained that the Church of Christ was guilty of fostering slavery; let us help her in her day of adversity and trial, for by so doing we are honouring God, seeking His glory, and the welfare of the suffering bondsman. British Christians, we leave the matter in your hands, praying God to grant you grace, and to guide your steps aright.